

The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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CONVENTION NUMBER

WOMEN AFTER THE WAR

A FORECAST OF AMERICAN
MILITANCY

PREPAREDNESS

THE MILITARY RELIEF OF THE
RED CROSS

HOW ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS HAVE
HELPED THE RED CROSS

A STATEMENT
BY HON. ELIHU ROOT

A MESSAGE FROM HIS EMINENCE
JAMES, CARDINAL GIBBONS

WHY I AM AN ANTI-SUFFRAGIST

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LEAGUE

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WOMEN AFTER THE WAR

[It has been stated so often recently by suffragists in America that women in England will be given the full franchise after the war that it is interesting to get the opinion of those most familiar with the fact. The National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, of England, an organization with over 500,000 members before the war began, has issued a very enlightening statement in *The Anti-Suffrage Review* published in London. Among the prominent persons identified with the anti-suffrage movement in England are the Earl Curzon, the Dowager Countess of Jersey, the Earl of Cromer and Mrs. Humphry Ward. It is remarkable to note in England, as in the United States, that the anti-suffragists advocate a referendum to the general electorate, while the suffragists—there, as here—are trying to secure the ballot regardless of the will of the people.—EDITOR.]

IF shouting implies victory, then the cause of woman suffrage is won. It is not the first time, however, that suffragists have allowed themselves to be carried away by their own enthusiasm. In the present instance they have mistaken a truce, which anti-suffragists have loyally observed and they themselves have systematically broken, for the elimination of opposition to the suffrage movement. They have gained similar successes before. Woman suffrage measures have passed their second reading in the House of Commons, and all suffragedom has hailed the triumph of its cause. But things are not always what they seem—in Parliament. The war has stirred the popular imagination. Five million men—the flower of the nation's manhood—are under arms. It is hardly to be wondered at that of the remainder, who, with the women of the country, have been left to "carry on," some should surrender their judgment to the glamor of the times. There is a natural desire to be rid of vexed questions. In the mind of some people, before the war, women, in so far as they were of public concern, were connected with an agitation for the vote, with which they instinctively disagreed. During the war these same people have connected women, in so far as they are of public concern, with considerable prominence in useful war-work, of which they heartily approve. It is not difficult to understand how such minds come to reason with themselves that they must have been under a misapprehension before, and that votes for women must, therefore, be a sound policy. They are altogether illogical, but they are not conscious of the *non-sequitur*, and hasten with all the zeal of the convert to proclaim their profound belief in a faith to which they have not given a moment's reflection. Relying on such support, and mistaking silence on the part of organized anti-suffragism for consent, suffragists have satisfied themselves, according to their several temperaments, that "the goal is in sight," or that "the victory is already won." But before the country is committed to woman suffrage certain formalities will have to be observed. Parliament, at least, will have to be consulted on the subject; there will have to be a woman suffrage measure, or a woman suffrage clause in a franchise bill, which must secure the approval of the House of Commons and the House of Lords.

It is in connection with this procedure that certain considerations will force themselves sooner or later upon public attention and will tend to bring the subject of votes for women down from the suffragist castles in the air to the more substantial foundations of equity and constitutionalism. There would seem to be a consensus of opinion that a general election ought to be avoided during the war, and that it may be regarded as improbable. If, then, the present Parliament prolongs its own existence, one of its preoccupations will be to devise the machinery for the election of a "representative" House of Commons to deal with the *post-bellum* settlement. Now a very strong effort will be made to extend the basis of representation as widely as possible, and in particular to introduce the enfranchisement of women. In all the circumstances of the case, however—with a cabinet divided on the subject, and with the famous ruling of the speaker before Ministers—we cannot believe that the present Parliament will

arrogate to itself the right to commit the country to woman suffrage. In spite of the jeers of suffragists members, Sir Edward Carson's contention holds good, that the arrangements for the granting of the franchise to potential voters are a totally different matter from an alteration of the whole constitution by an extension of the franchise to women. The charge against the existing Parliament is that it has outlived its term of years, and that by-elections are vitiated either by the absence of a contest, or by polling on an out-of-date register. The present House of Commons remains, however, unless new methods are adopted, the only constitutional means for providing a more satisfactory register for the next general election. It would be an outrage on the intelligence of the country to pretend that such a house is qualified to deal with the question of woman suffrage. Let us suppose, then, that we reach the next elections with this vexed question still unsettled. Two things may be taken for granted. First, that suffragists will intrude their controversy into the elections to the utmost of their capacity; and second, that the electorate will decide the elections on a very different issue. When the new Parliament assembles, the old *impasse* may repeat itself. The House of Commons, elected without real reference to the subject of woman suffrage, may conceivably feel that it is not justified to deal with the question. In any case, its right to deal with it will be challenged.

It is hard to understand how the advocates of woman suffrage can be content to occupy an anomalous position. If they believe that their cause is being championed in the interests of the State, they will wish to see it carried by the voice of the people, and firmly established above all cavil. So long as they try by threats or cajolery to wring a measure of woman suffrage out of a divided cabinet they must be prepared to have their own wiles countered, and they expose themselves to the charge that they dare not submit their proposal to the calm and considered judgment of the country. Moreover, they labor under an extra disadvantage. It is conceivable that by certain tactics they might succeed in obtaining the promise of a woman suffrage clause in a franchise bill. They know well that in the present state of suffrage opinion they have only to decide upon a definite measure of enfranchisement in order to antagonize some of their party who wish to go further or will not go so far. In the face of a definite mandate from the country this difficulty would be overcome. If, therefore, suffragists have the courage of their convictions, let them have done with lobbying and jobbery and boldly demand the submission of the question to the country by means of a referendum. Certain it is that anti-suffragists will not allow their strong position to be turned by the chance vote of a jejune and moribund House of Commons. The Earl of Cromer voiced the general feeling in his speech in the House of Lords on August 22d. "Even if the referendum on the question of female suffrage is not adopted—and that, I think, would be the right course—I challenge the moral right of the present Parliament to deal with such a matter as this until there has been a general election in normal circumstances; and before that general election takes place I think the whole issue—and this is important—should be fairly and squarely stated to the country." And in conclusion Lord Cromer reminded the House of a point which suffragists will do well to bear in mind: "There are at least a very considerable number of anti-suffragists who, although they are quiescent at present * * * are fully determined at the proper time to offer a most resolute and strenuous opposition to a measure which, in their opinion, would be highly detrimental to the best interests of the country."

If the premature paeans of victory now being sung by suffragists become much louder it may be necessary for anti-suffragists to insist that the noise shall be stopped by a direct referendum to the people.

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Vol. X December, 1916 No. 2



SUFFRAGE BEFORE THE HOUSE

ON December 14th, the House Judiciary Committee, by a vote of 11 to 8, ordered the proposed Federal suffrage amendment reported without recommendation. "The vote in favor of reporting the resolution," says the Associated Press dispatch, "does not represent the sentiment of the committee. Some of its bitterest enemies voted favorably, most of them confident of seeing it beaten on the floor, and desirous of quieting charges of 'smothering' in committee."

"The reason for bringing out the resolution was to dispose of it finally," said Chairman Webb. A vote on the amendment may be expected soon after the holidays.

A FORECAST OF AMERICAN MILITANCY

THE recent heckling of President Wilson by members of the Congressional Union shows apparently that the radical element among the suffrage advocates is now taking the lead. Nothing more senseless and futile has even been done by the suffragists since the hissing of President Taft at a suffrage convention. In perpetrating this insult to the President of the United States they have undoubtedly defeated their own ends. As one pro-suffrage newspaper remarks:

"An insult to the President of the United States is an insult to the people who elected him; an insult to the Congress of the United States is an insult to the constituencies of forty-eight States. And no more brazen insult was ever offered to the Chief Magistrate of this Republic or to the Congress duly elected than that of Tuesday. . . . The incident cost the suffrage cause a hundred thousand votes easily in the various States where votes are needed, and anybody with a grain of political sense or a glimmer of political information knows it did."

This probably expressed the general attitude of the public on this incident. Editors who favor woman suffrage have been most vigorous in their denunciations. So far, we have learned of no editor, pro-suffrage or anti-suffrage, who believes it helped the cause.

Nevertheless, Miss Alice Paul, head of the Congressional Union, and Mrs. Elizabeth S. Rogers, chairman of the national advisory council of that body, insist that it was "excellent politics."

We find even Mr. Herbert Parsons, at a luncheon of the Congressional Union at Delmonico's, on December 9th, indorsing these methods in the following words, as reported by the New York Times:

"Very little will come to you from gratitude. What you get will be from fear. I hope the Democratic Party has become chastened and will part from its State rights lines and pass the Federal amendment. You will only get it through if you keep up the work you are now doing."

When it is thought that a few women representing not even seven percent. of the suffragists can "scare" Congress by heckling into passing a measure opposed by the majority of women, and recently rejected by the voters in States containing over 41,000,000 population, this idea assumes an almost ridiculous aspect.

To the credit of the president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, she hastened to repudiate this action. Speaking for the members of her association, she wrote, in a letter to the New York Tribune, December 9th:

"They had nothing whatever to do with the demonstration; they do not approve of it, nor of similar demonstrations which without doubt will come in the future."

Mrs. Catt also insists that a clear distinction should be made between the great body of organized suffragists and "the very small minority which, growing impatient with the tardiness of favorable action by Congress, resorts to cheap publicity."

While the distinction is admitted in all fairness, it cannot be denied that the Congressional Union is the child of the older suffrage association, and its radicalism is developed directly from the doctrines of the parent organization.

Mrs. Catt herself told her followers last April at Cooper Union, immediately after the methods of the suffragists at Albany had evoked severe criticism, that they intended to keep up this "pestering" and put this question to her audience:

"I ask you, has anything ever been achieved without pestering? The barons pestered King John for Magna Charta. The revolutionists pestered King George for independence. We will continue this pestering."

The difference between pestering a Legislature and heckling the President in Congress is so delicate a distinction that it is not surprising that the more radical suffragists should ignore it.

This development of the suffrage movement was forecast years ago by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the first president of the National Suffrage Association, who, at a meeting of the Women's Council at Washington, in March, 1888, said:

"I have often said to men of the present day that the next generation of women will not stand arguing with you as patiently as we have for half a century. . . . The time is not far distant when, if men do not do justice to women, the women will strike hands with labor, with socialists, with anarchists, and you will have the scenes of the Revolution of France acted over again in this Republic."

THE first convention of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, at Washington, D. C., December 7th and 8th, was a most successful enterprise, from every viewpoint. The program for the afternoon meeting, held at the New National Theatre, was as follows:

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION

"WOMEN AND PREPAREDNESS"

By MR. LOUIS FREDERICK HUIDEKOPFER,
 Vice-President, National Security League

"THE MILITARY RELIEF OF THE RED CROSS"

By MISS MABEL BOARDMAN,
 Member Executive Board, American Red Cross

"HOW ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS HAVE HELPED THE RED CROSS"

By MRS. B. L. ROBINSON,
 President, Public Interests League of Massachusetts

STATEMENT ON THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

By HON. ELIHU ROOT
 Read by Miss Alice Hill Chittenden,
 President, New York State Association

A MESSAGE FROM JAMES, CARDINAL GIBBONS

Read by The Right Reverend William T. Russell, Bishop of
 Charleston, S. C.

"WHY I AM AN ANTI-SUFFRAGIST"

MRS. N. C. YOUNG, President, North Dakota Association
 MRS. ROBERT GARRETT, President, Maryland Association
 MRS. H. C. TALBOTT, President, Ohio Association
 MRS. JAMES B. WELLS, President, Texas Association
 MRS. J. D. GILFILLAN, President, Minnesota Association

For the benefit of the great number of PROTEST readers unable to attend the convention, and those present who wish to preserve them, these addresses are printed in the current number. About fifteen hundred persons were in attendance at the afternoon session. The stage of New National Theatre was draped with American flags. The twenty-five State presidents were seated with the speakers on the platform, while from the balconies hung the twenty-five banners of the States organized in opposition to woman suffrage.

A banquet, attended by 400 persons, was held at Rauscher's on the evening of the 7th. The speakers were: Mr. D. C. Gallaher, of West Virginia; Mrs. O. D. Oliphant, of New Jersey; Mrs. Elias Jacobsen, of Pierre, South Dakota; Mrs. F. J. Millard, of Burlington, Iowa; Miss Minnie Bronson, of New York; Judge Oscar Leser, of Baltimore; Mrs. B. L. Robinson, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Mrs. Edmund Pennington, of Minneapolis.

On the morning of the 8th a business session was held at Rauscher's, at which the reports of the States were read. A meeting of the Council of the National Association, followed by the election of officers, as given on page 2, was held in the afternoon at the home of Senator James W. Wadsworth, Jr., of New York. This was followed by an executive meeting at the Shoreham Hotel which concluded the convention.

THE ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

By MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE

WE are glad to be here together to-day at our first convention, assembled under the United States flag which bears on its folds forty-eight stars. We represent a national organization of women, increasing in numbers and influence all over the country, and under this flag we claim the right of protest which is as well established as the right of petition. In protesting against the imposition of political duties upon women, we know that we voice the sentiment of the majority of the women of the country. There have been women's parties, and women's peace parties recently, but we accept the name that one of our leading opponents has given us, namely, "The Home, Heaven and Mother Party!"

We do believe that woman has more power in uplifting civilization through the home than man has through the vote, and in this convention assembled we do most earnestly protest against the Federal Amendment for woman suffrage upon the demand of a minority.

We think that the fundamental principle of democracy, majority rule, should be applied to the campaign of votes for women.

After sixty-five years of organized effort, woman suffrage is still a minority movement. The assumption that a minority has the right to dictate to the unwilling or the indifferent majority does not, we maintain, belong to a democracy. The conservative suffragists have never been able to control the organized emotion and radicalism in their ranks, and under our form of government there is great danger that such an element might cripple wise legislation.

I would like to repeat once more what we call our creed. We anti-suffragists stand for the conservation of the best of American womanhood in all conditions and circumstances of life, for the preservation of the home, for the retention of the best ideals of preceding generations adapted to the advantages and opportunities given them under the modern conditions. We believe that women, according to their leisure, opportunity and experience, should take part increasingly in civic and municipal affairs, as they always have done in charitable, philanthropic and educational opportunities, and we believe that this can best be done by women without the ballot, as a non-partisan body of disinterested workers.

WOMEN AND PREPAREDNESS

By MR. LOUIS FREDERICK HUIDEKOPER
Vice-President, National Security League

IN introducing Mr. Huidekoper, the president read the following resolution, passed by the Board of Directors of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, January 27, 1916.

Be It Resolved, That adequate measures for National Defense should receive the support of every loyal American.

That woman everywhere should strive to further the cause of preparedness by the study of the sources and conservation of the food supply, by thrift and economy in household management and by training in the care for the physical well-being of our people in times of peace as well as of national disaster.

That this Association appeals to the mothers of the country to teach their children reverence for authority, obedience to law and willingness to sacrifice selfish interests for the country's good."

Mr. Huidekoper spoke, in part, as follows:

In the opinion of those best qualified to judge, the United States finds itself at the present minute in a position which is very grave, and which may, if events develop in a certain direction, become still more grave, indeed almost the equal of any situation in which this country has ever been, save when it has been involved in war.

We know that Americans are characteristic for their superficiality. That is the plain fact, deny it as we will. We are not given to going down to fundamentals as nations always are compelled to do when they are confronted with great crises such as great wars bring about.

Every one of us ought to realize that the fundamental law of life is the law of strife; that we progress only in proportion as we have something to overcome, something to do, something to make us develop ourselves. You must remember that we obey God-given law or man-made law just for one reason and no other, because that law is stronger than any one of us individually or than all of us collectively.

Now, if we have high ideals which we follow, as I hope we do, ideals which we worship, and the malefactor is abroad, does it not follow that the wisest way to prevent the iconoclast from destroying our idol is to prevent him from being strong enough to get at it? No nation in history has maintained its standards and its national existence that has not deserved to, and been strong enough to, maintain them.

We Americans have not the understanding of that as European nations have. We have been isolated, separated by two great oceans, which for many decades constituted an effectual barrier. But oceans to-day, from the military standpoint, are no longer barriers; they are avenues of approach; and if we are to continue our national existence and have our rights respected, we must be strong enough to enforce those rights.

In Great Britain, up to the outbreak of this war, and in the United States today, we have heard too much about our rights, and mighty little about our obligations and our responsibilities.

Giuseppe Mazzini, one of the heroes and liberators of modern Italy, declared that the origin of every right is in a duty fulfilled, and if you and I and others are to demand of the government certain rights and certain protection, we must render a service to entitle us to that protection.

One reason why we Americans have been so indifferent to the needs of our army and our navy is that, by the grace of God largely, we have emerged victorious from our past wars. We as a people have no conception of what is meant by the application of a thoroughly trained and thoroughly prepared military force. We point with pride to our veterans at the close of the Civil War, but we forget that it took four long years of the hardest sort of fighting to transform them into the troops that they were eventually, probably the equal of any that ever existed. We forget that at first, at the Battle of Bull Run, the forces facing each other were nothing more than what Von Moltke described them, two armed mobs.

If we today go to war we shall not have time to develop as they did, but shall meet an enemy ready to strike on the instant, with military, naval, economic and national resources. And the time has come for us to appreciate that fact and take pains to strengthen ourselves to meet such a situation if it occurs.

In raising an army and in raising a navy there are two methods, and only two, known: one the voluntary system; the other, obligatory, compulsory training or universal service.

Voluntary service presents difficulties. Men do not like to bind themselves for long periods, therefore enlistments have been very short, and when they have run out and men must be induced to re-enlist, the men, sick of the hardships of war, have had to be bribed, neither more nor less, by promises of clothing, of bounties of land, by perquisites and pensions. No one believes more thoroughly than I do that a man who has served his country faithfully should have a pension, but look at that act today, the most outrageous blot on the escutcheon of any nation on the top of the earth! Down to 1899 the United States Government spent in pensions more than the German Empire spent to maintain the Germany army—and we sit and do nothing about it.

The voluntary system permits A who may be married, with a family, the wage-earner on whom they depend for support, because he is animated by high ideals and noble motives, to sacrifice himself and them in order that his country shall live, while B, a bachelor, with no obligations, is permitted to stay at home and say, "Why should I go and fight when A is willing to do it?" If that is not a rotten system—and I use the word advisedly—I don't know what is! That is the system we have followed from the beginning of our military career until now, the system which England followed until this war. Every other nation has discarded it now as obsolete, but we have been blind to the lessons of history, to the fact that in every great war and every real crisis that system has broken down completely. We have depended largely on the militia. Do not blame the militia! Those

men have done splendidly, made their sacrifice and done their best, but the system of which they are the victims is one of the worst that ever has been devised.

Down to the National Defense Act which the President approved on the third of June last, the organized militia had exactly twenty-four periods of training, outside of encampments, of one hour and a half. They are now to have forty-eight; less than seventy hours a year. How could you pit men like that against men who spend at least a thousand hours in training—and the Swiss have discovered that it takes 1,600 hours to make a first-class soldier.

Light Horse Harry, General Lee of the Revolution, said that "that government is a murderer of its citizens which sends them to the field uninformed and untaught to meet men of the same age and strength mechanized by discipline for battle."

The only system which nations have found by experience to be effective is that in which the whole nation puts forth its strength, in other words, national training, obligatory military service. That is the only system in which prince and pauper, rich and poor, high and low alike do their duty by their country. And as for that being contrary to American traditions and ideals, anyone who says it is so says something that is not true. When States Rights conflicted with military wisdom States Rights went by the board; the South appealed directly to the people, refused to organize war regiments, abandoned voluntary enlistment, adopted the democratic principle that every citizen owes military service to his country, and called to the colors every able-bodied man between the ages of 18 and 35—in other words, obligatory military service. The North, on the other hand, adhered to the voluntary system, but in the spring of 1863 was obliged to resort to the draft. Until the first week of July, 1863, when the battle of Gettysburg took place in the east, and Vicksburg in the west, there was every indication that the Confederacy would be successful. In 1864 the North gave General Grant virtually dictatorial powers, and since it was stronger in men, money and general resources, and was not subjected to the iron blockade which closed the ports of the Confederacy, the Union eventually emerged victorious from the struggle. For 110 years, from May, 1792, till January, 1903, there was a compulsory military bill on the statute books. It is no more contrary to American ideals than is the payment of taxes under compulsion, and no one has dared to question that.

It must always be distinctly borne in mind that the proper system of national training or obligatory military service contemplates taking young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-three—in other words, in the non-productive stage of their lives, before they embark in business, professional or other careers. One year's intensive training will amply suffice to make them first-class fighting men. They will then be transferred to the reserve, and do only periods of training of a few weeks each year, in order to keep them fit and to prevent their forgetting what they learned in their active service with the colors.

Why have we been so indifferent in this matter? We have never been pitted against military forces of first-class power. In 1812, England was too busy with Napoleon to bother much with us, and our historians have painted in glowing colors our great victories and how we have emerged successfully from our wars. I have examined hundreds of lay histories and school books, and have yet to find one that tells the truth about our military career. History, the record of human events, is a record of success and of failure, for we all, being human, fail at times, and if we emerge successfully it shows we are made of the right stuff, but we have to go through both phases.

You women have sons, you have brothers, you have husbands, who have to learn something about our history. You have a duty to perform toward the coming generation; it is your duty to see

that histories are introduced into the schools, histories and textbooks, that tell the truth about our history, and when they do that we shall come out not worse but better, and you will find that Washington was a far greater man than any lay historian has yet depicted him.

To go back to the question of universal military training! It is generally admitted by economists that the training men get in the Germany army has increased factory production by over forty per cent. That training includes ideas and ideas of principle, of obedience to law and order, and of responsibility, and makes them better men, better citizens, better husbands, better brothers, better sons. We have been entirely too lawless as a nation, and the time has come when we have got to change the mental attitude of our people.

We of the National Security League have come to understand after careful study of the question that preparedness is only an excrescence, only part and parcel of a larger subject and therefore, at the end of next January, on the 25th, 26th and 27th, we are going to hold a Congress of Constructive Patriotism, with the idea of awakening as far as we can the American people to a realization of what each one ought to do for the nation, and particularly what ought to be done for the coming generation. And, remember this, that no nation has ever yet had a great army or a great navy unless the people wanted it, and when the people want it they will get it.

The last bit of legislation, the National Defense Act, so far as the regular army is concerned, is one of the best ever enacted. But that part which concerns the National Guard is the worst. The Admiralty in England controls the British navy; it is composed of sea lords and civil lords—it has been said that the latter are called civil lords because they are seldom lords and never civil. I would say that the National Guard is so called because it is not national and not a guard, and not any use at all to the nation as a whole unless its status shall be changed from a State to a Federal force. That part of the law is one of the most pernicious that has ever passed Congress, without exception.

You have seen, and those who have had relatives on the Border know the *opera bouffe* that has been enacted there. Do not blame the men. Put the blame where it belongs, up here on Capitol Hill. Those men are going to have to give their lives in time of crisis for their country; they belong to you, and when they go that is your loss. Do you not think it behooves you to use such influence as you can use to see that such laws are enacted as shall make us have proper military and naval organization, so that when your men perhaps have to give their lives, their sacrifice shall contribute to the cause of their country and the safety of their country and the national existence of their country? It behooves you, does it not, to act, and to make your voices heard?

You know the expression, "he is a brick." How many know the origin of that expression, I wonder? In the Second Peloponnesian War, when the Athenians were about to send over and invade the peninsula and land forces, somebody asked Leonidas if he were not afraid that Sparta would be captured, because the fortifications of brick were in bad repair. Leonidas said he had no fear, for "Sparta's army is her wall, and every man in it is a brick." It is time that you and I, that each one of us in this country became a brick in the wall to protect our country, and in this grave crisis in which we find ourselves, which in the play and interplay of international relations may become extremely grave at any time, as the President has told us, it behooves every one of us to act, and in acting to remember that no greater truth was ever embodied in any words than that in Lord Brougham's motto:

"Lose not the opportunity; by the forelock take
That subtle power of never-halting Time,
Lest the mere moment's putting off should make
Mischance almost as grave as Crime."

THE MILITARY RELIEF OF THE RED CROSS

By MISS MABEL BOARDMAN, Member Executive Board, American Red Cross

"OUR work and co-operation with the Red Cross has gone on since the first week after the war was declared in Europe," said the president, in introducing Miss Boardman. The following resolution, passed June 29, 1916, was read; showing not only that preparedness has been part of our duty and work in the last two years, but also the work of the Red Cross and other organizations:

"Be It Resolved, By the Board of Directors of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage:

"That in harmony with our work for home and humanity the facilities of this organization be dedicated to the service of 'America First.'"

"That we co-operate with the United States Government, the American Red Cross and other patriotic organizations in con-

tributing to the comfort of the men who serve the Nation on land and sea, and in providing for the protection and subsistence of the women and children who remain at home."

Miss Boardman's address follows:

Before I speak on the subject of military relief work and the American Red Cross, I want to express the thanks of the organization for the great assistance you have given it. It is because of the assistance of such organizations that the work of the Red Cross goes on and can go on. It is the American people that make the Red Cross possible; that is, our branch of this great organization.

Mrs. Robinson will tell you of the work you have done, and I want to express our hearty and sincere thanks to you.

The primary purpose of the Red Cross Societies throughout the world is military relief, the care of the sick and wounded in

war. This has been recognized by all governments as necessary. It is provided in the International Treaty of Geneva that this official organization of the Red Cross shall receive the same protection as the army and navy medical forces and be allowed the use of the sacred emblem of protection, the Red Cross.

It is true the organization has added to its scope, first, because in the case of great disasters a well-organized association is better prepared to meet the needs than anything hastily formed could be, and secondly, because such work maintains the interest of the public and gives the organization constant experience and training such as it needs for war relief work.

Whenever the great misfortune of war comes upon a country, there flashes over the length and breadth of the land a fever of patriotism; there is hardly an individual that does not want to do his or her bit in patriotic service. At such a time the army and navy medical departments are overwhelmed with duties and yet they are burdened with the almost innumerable offers of aid, aid that is inexperienced, untrained, unorganized, or temporarily organized, by persons having no idea what is needed; so it is necessary to have a quasi-official organization to take charge of this volunteer aid work. These are in all cases the Red Cross Societies. The government must be very closely associated with them. There must be government affiliation, and not only is the governing board appointed by the United States Government, but the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy have to detail certain officers to have charge, so that it becomes a great medical military reserve for the forces of the army and navy. It must have the supervision of the Government because it is a very serious matter if the emblem of the Red Cross is abused—and it has been abused. If, for example, a ship or any other means of locomotion, motor, or ambulance, is used to give military assistance, you cannot make any nation trust that flag again. If an individual doctor or nurse, acting under the protection of the Red Cross and because of the power to do so, were to give military information or aid to the enemy, you would kill the power of protection of the Red Cross. Therefore, because of treaty obligations and international obligations, it is necessary it should be under government supervision in the hands of those who will properly respect the treaties.

Further, to protect the public we must have a government audit, that the government should impose on its expenditures a proper audit, and this is done by each government, all accounts being audited by the War Department.

This is a little preliminary as to the connection with the government.

When war threatens, do you realize that there is a very small percentage of the population that belongs in the fighting line? Only the men of military age belong there. Then, what can the vast population outside of that small percentage do in patriotic service? Such service would devolve largely on the women. A great many men are taken out for active service and other men must take their places because you must run the machinery of government, of commerce, of transportation, of the normal life of the country, and they will have to do it. Therefore it is to women that we particularly appeal to realize how important their place is in time of war.

First, there is the service you can render to the auxiliary service. The men at the front who are fighting for their country—they may not be wounded, but they are away from home, making the great sacrifice, undergoing hard ordeals. We can do something to show that we sympathize with them. We have had for some eight months in Mexico, a good many miles behind our own border, eight thousand men sleeping in dog tents now but for a long time without any shelter in a country where it freezes at night and is hot in the daytime. They have no amusement, no excitement of fighting, no glory attached to their work. "Lest we forget" is something we may well write up before our eyes just now. Officers and men have died there for our safety and service, and they have not had much glory. The American who dies across the water for another country seems to have done a heroic thing, and you see his name and hear about him, but who knows the names of the officers that have died in Mexico? Surely they have just as much right to our thought and memory as the man who fights in another country.

It is a little thing to do, but the American Red Cross has asked us as Americans to send down to the men some little Christmas remembrance. The millions of men in Europe will probably have some little gift sent them; should we not remember our own men? Should we not remember the men in San Domingo and Haiti? It is just as much their service to their country as any other man's; we have all of us only one life, and they are giving their one life. We are sending to these men fourteen or fifteen hundred little Christmas packages, packed and sent off in boxes, to remind them that we think of them—just little things, tobacco, writing paper, a game or two—just a little thought to show they are not forgotten by the people at home. That is a bit of service for our forces who are not sick or wounded.

Then there is the department concerned with the dependents at home, the widows, the orphans, and with the permanently crippled men. And then, most of all, the care of the sick and wounded in war.

Remember, the government concerns itself first with the well man and not with the sick man. Let me show you on the chart that we have put here before you what the plan is—a plan which is, as Colonel Kane, one of the ablest organizers, has called it, the bridge of three arches. First, the trenches, with men fighting; back of that the regimental dressing station. Sometimes you hear that the Red Cross has been fired on. The Red Cross that goes close to the front is not allowed to stand up and be visible to the enemy. You have the trench with the First Aid; back of that the Field and Evacuation Hospitals—first aid dressing stations close to the line are not hospitals; there are no nurses there. Then you bring them to the evacuation or field hospital; that is not a hospital either; no operations are performed except what are absolutely necessary; they are only three or four miles from the front. These are all mobile organizations and the army has entire charge of them. From the evacuation or field hospital we come to the base hospital, the first real hospital; it has its personnel of doctors, trained nurses and proper equipment, fifty or a hundred miles back from the front, so that it is not probable that it will have to evacuate or advance. It is the hospital of the utmost importance. From the field hospital to the base hospital the men are generally taken in hospital trains; then the long cases must go home or to camp or city hospitals. We have three arches in this transportation of the wounded from the front. Where does the Red Cross come in? It is the permanent and important central arch of the bridge. If it breaks down the whole structure will go.

First, there is the army at the front, and when you think of it you will realize what a great number of men like that means—think how many people it takes to care for one sick person at home, and you will see that the government cannot care for them—it would require a second army to do it. But with a sufficient organization you have no idea how many men you can send back to the fighting line. They gave me at the War College figures from medical reports in Germany, showing that of men who went into the hospitals 89 per cent. returned to the front, and that less than 2 per cent. died, and the rest, a small fraction, were permanently crippled. You see what an efficient medical force with an efficient Red Cross means.

The first thing is aiding with transportation. The Red Cross goes to the field of base hospital and helps with transportation back to the military or staff hospital at home.

I would like to speak for a moment of what the Red Cross has done for the base hospitals. Under Colonel Kane's able organization some twenty-five of these (until the trouble with the Mexican border there was not one of these) are in existence, with five hundred beds; twenty-five of the ablest surgeons and doctors in the country, bacteriologists, pathologists, dentists, fifty trained nurses, hospital orderlies and others are working in these hospitals; some of the greatest surgeons in the country have signed for two years for the reserve of the Army Medical Service—such men as Brewer of the Presbyterian Hospital, others from Bellevue, Mt. Sinai, the German Hospital, Peter Bent Brigham, and so on. Two or three weeks ago a hospital was mobilized in Philadelphia under tents covering twelve acres of land, ready to function immediately, all properly arranged for hospital service. With twenty-five of these we are prepared to put at the disposal of the government a field hospital service for an army of five hundred thousand men—I think it will be some time before the government has an army of five hundred thousand.

What can we do now? First take the spirit of the Red Cross. The Red Cross has nothing to do with creeds or parties or policies. It is working simply for humanity, so let us get that spirit before we go into war so that we shall stand by our treaty organization and not ignore these obligations under an impulse of hate.

In Japan there are 250,000 members. We want chapters. There should be a chapter for every community, a committee for foreign relief, and other committees. We should have committees providing supplies, hospital bandages and surgical dressings, and there should be first-aid classes, dietetics, home care of the sick, and surgical dressing, so that every woman may know what she can do and where she can fit in if war comes.

Then, finally, one other phase. We are a nation made up of many nations, a people of many tongues. What can unite us? Do we have to wait till the horrors of war come on us to feel that we are a nation? Cannot we rise to the feeling that there is a service for our country, a service for humanity under this flag of the Red Cross? It is the one thing we can unite on. It has neither race nor creed nor political party; it is for mankind and for the service of our country. So I believe if every man, woman and child will give loyal support to this flag that we shall all become better citizens of our own country and better citizens of that time in the future that must come some day, when there will be a fellowship of nations.

HOW ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS HAVE HELPED *the* RED CROSS

By MRS. B. L. ROBINSON

President, Public Interests League of Massachusetts

THE services of Anti-Suffrage Associations throughout the country toward relieving the suffering in Europe caused by the Great War have been so generous and so wide-spread that a complete history of them would fill this afternoon. Such a history, if it were written, would show that to the anti-suffrage woman the old ideal of service is still an inspiration, and that when need comes, her response is ready.

The Anti-Suffrage Associations of Albany, Baltimore and New Jersey and Pennsylvania did splendid work, both in amount and quality, for the Red Cross. The Nebraska Association raised \$3,800 for it in one week.

The Pittsburgh Junior Anti-Suffrage League did admirable service in holding four classes in First Aid to the Injured. On the morning that the first class was opened 196 women and girls applied for admission. The class was open to the public and even avowed suffragists took advantage of it. So great was the demand that a second morning class was formed and two evening classes, exclusively for business women in the down-town district. A large proportion of those taking the course passed the examinations successfully and received certificates signed by Woodrow Wilson, as President of the American Red Cross Society, and their names are registered here in Washington. After all expenses for the classes were paid, the Junior League had \$150 left over, which was divided between West Virginia and South Dakota, to use in their recent campaigns and which helped to bring the splendid anti-suffrage victories in both those States.

I have no doubt many other associations did similar work and I hope a complete record may some day be made. I have been asked today to tell you of the work done in Massachusetts, and of the Public Interests League under whose auspices the work was done.

The Public Interests League of the Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage Association was formed for active service in putting into practice anti-suffrage ideals of women's relation to the community, large and small. The suffragists are always telling us what wonderful things women could do if they only had the vote, and how hampered they are without it. We disagree with them utterly in this, maintaining that the good we can do is only limited by our time and strength, and that the moment women enter the field of politics, they forfeit the unique influence which they now possess by reason of their non-partisanship.

PURPOSE OF THE LEAGUE

The League was formed by women who firmly believe that they can exercise a freer, wider, more helpful influence for the good of the community *outside* of politics than in. Its motto is "Above liberty stands duty; above equality stands service."

The purposes of the League were stated as follows:

1. To provide a center for the rapidly increasing number of women who wish to ally themselves with the movement in opposition to woman suffrage and feminism.
2. To combat the demoralizing influences of the feminist movement, which threaten not only social morality but civilization itself.
3. To educate public opinion to the true interests of women, which cannot be separated from those of society in general.
4. To remind women as well as men that life is not saved by politics but by principles.

The League was formed in the spring of 1914, and almost before its committees were chosen, the great fire in Salem occurred. The new headquarters of the League at 685 Boylston Street, Boston, was turned into a temporary relief station for the gathering of clothing and money for the sufferers. Many prominent members of the League from Boston and surrounding towns

were on hand with needles, thread and buttons to repair clothing to be sent to the stricken city. Many barrels were sent and many contributions of money. The Boston *Post* gave an account of these Anti-Suffrage activities under the headline, "The Red Rose an Emblem of Mercy," and the Salem authorities wrote us highly commending our work. The League kept its headquarters open during the summer as a rest and reading room. In August the terrible war broke out, and President Wilson's call for aid for the Red Cross soon followed. Many of our officers and members were away on their vacations, but fortunately our first president, Mrs. John Balch, had returned from hers, and she set immediately to work. She took her own sewing machine into the rooms, issued a call for volunteers, bought a few yards of flannel to start with—and from that modest beginning the splendid relief work grew. So far as we know, our League was the first organization in the country to respond to President Wilson's call.

RED CROSS HEADQUARTERS

When Miss Loring was appointed official head of the Massachusetts Red Cross, she found our work already well organized, in excellent quarters, and on that account asked us to become sewing headquarters of Red Cross work in Massachusetts. This we agreed to do.

Our work grew rapidly; volunteers seemed to spring out of the ground and help was offered from every quarter. A sewing machine company offered us as many machines as we needed, and sent a man every week to put them in perfect condition. Wholesale dealers in cotton and woolen cloth gave us the lowest rate possible on materials. A day spent at the desk in our little office was an inspiration. There was almost a constant stream of people coming to bring or offer help of one sort or another. One old lady, over eighty years old, came in bringing \$30 to buy flannel, and saying she meant to sell her jewelry and laces to get more money for us. Another came to bring the money she had earned by making and selling jelly to her friends. The Chinese Sunday School sent us \$5, all in nickels; the Jewish children sent a contribution; one of our League workers went to a dinner party one evening where she described the work we were doing so effectively that \$200 was raised for her on the spot; foreign tailors who had sons or brothers at the front came in to offer to cut out garments for us; working women out of a job came to sew; French and German women unable to speak English, colored women, even Chinese and Japanese women came and asked to be allowed to help us.

We had a thousand volunteer workers during the first six months. A portrait painter directed all our boxes for us as they were packed; the newspaper men were ready to give us a "write up" at any time in order to help in our work. We put an appeal for handkerchiefs to be sent to the hospital in the morning papers one day, and a hundred dozen were sent in by noon. A laundry company came in twice a week and took dozens and dozens of sheets and pillow cases which had been donated to launder for us free of charge. School girls vied with each other in seeing who could knit the most mufflers, helmets, and so on. An invalid lady sent in nine pairs of beautiful blankets for the Belgians. We were constantly asked to organize similar relief work through the State. This was done in 300 places and Mrs. Balch started 1,500 women on this work in one day.

EXPERT WORKERS

We soon developed a regular corps of expert workers who specialized in cutting and directing the work and in packing the boxes. The piles of garments, hospital shirts, convalescent robes, pajamas, mufflers, helmets, wristers, etc., threatened on some days to swamp us. Within the first ten weeks of our work 15,000 garments were sent on to the shipping terminal, and we raised every

bit of the money for the work ourselves. The Massachusetts Red Cross Society placed a certain sum at our disposal for the purchase of materials but we kept this in reserve and raised our own money.

In December Madame Szumowska Adamowska, the Polish pianist, appealed to Governor Guild for suggestions as to how she could best help her suffering people. Governor Guild, who was a good friend of our cause, knew of the work of the Public Interests League and advised her to turn to us for help, which we were happy to give. The public at large at this time knew almost nothing of the needs of Poland, so we began with a publicity campaign as to the conditions in that unfortunate country, and the terrible suffering of the people. After six weeks of this educational work we inaugurated a Polish Flag Day in as many towns throughout the State as possible and sold little Polish flags at ten cents each. We made \$10,000 for Poland in this one day. We also raised a special fund of several hundred dollars for Belgium and collected many garments for the Belgian refugees.

In the spring of 1915, as the suffrage campaign drew near, it became necessary for us to have the use of our headquarters for anti-suffrage work, but we engaged other rooms in the same building for the Red Cross workers, where the work was carried on through the summer and early autumn. On the night of November 2, 1915, there was a wonderful gathering in our rooms to receive the returns from the election, and the enthusiasm, as it became evident that suffrage was defeated by the biggest majority ever given to any measure in our State and that we were victorious in every town in the Commonwealth but two, was

something to be remembered. But the next morning by 10 o'clock every trace of anti-suffrage work and propaganda had been removed from our rooms and the Red Cross workers were again installed and busy at work.

We continued to rent these large quarters for their use until last spring when, after a splendid campaign for increased membership throughout the State, the Red Cross Society got sufficiently on its feet to secure adequate headquarters for itself. In June this band of devoted workers, who had been trained under our League, moved to headquarters of their own where they are continuing their service for suffering humanity, under the direction of Miss Lavinia Newell, an executive officer of the Public Interests League.

During the twenty months that the Red Cross work was carried on under our auspices, we shipped 72,708 garments, an average of nearly 200 a day.

Our League by no means confines its activities to relief work—we have lent a hand at various enterprises for the public good, and have now a very able legislative committee which will watch legislation and advise us how and when to use our influence for the public interest by furthering good legislation.

We believe that more and more people are realizing that if women are really to serve the public effectively they can do it best by such non-political organizations as this League of ours, which is dependent upon no political convention, needs no secret lobby, need not spend hundreds of dollars on election day trying to get out reluctant women voters, but which works directly for its object, and gets things done!

A STATEMENT BY HON. ELIHU ROOT

Read by Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, President, New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

December 5, 1916.

My dear Miss Chittenden:

I AM against having the Constitution of the United States amended so as to impose woman suffrage on the States which do not wish for it, not merely or chiefly because my judgment does not approve of woman suffrage but for a much more vital reason.

If the people of the State of New York were to vote for woman suffrage I should think they had made a mistake, but a mistake which they had a right to make—one of those mistakes which are inevitable in the process of developing free self-government. If, however, some other State or combination of States acquires the power to compel and does compel the State of New York, against its will, to employ woman suffrage in carrying on its government, that is no step in the exercise of self-government. It is *pro tanto* a destruction of the right of self-government and a subjection of the people of New York to the government of others. That is what the proposed amendment seeks to accomplish. Having failed to secure the assent to woman suffrage of such States as South Dakota and West Virginia and Ohio and New York and Pennsylvania, the advocates of woman suffrage now seek to compel such States to accept it against their will and to compel them to carry on their local government and select their representatives in the national government in conformity to the opinions of the people of other States who are in favor of woman suffrage. I think such an attempt is contrary to the principles of liberty upon which the American Union was established and without which it cannot endure. Our system of government rests upon direct allegiance and loyalty to the nation, composed of all the people of all the States, and the power of the nation as a whole to control and require obedience to all things national, and also upon the idea of absolute liberty to the people of each separate State to govern themselves in all their local affairs according to their own free opinions and will. Without assurance that both of these ideas, the principle of nationality and the principle of local self-government, would be

preserved the Union would not have been formed and without them it cannot be maintained. Without the power of the nation we should become the prey of external aggression and internal dissension. Without the right of local self-government we should lose the better part of our liberty, the liberty to order our own lives in our own homes and our own communities according to our consciences and our opinions and to be governed only, in matters not national, by officers chosen by ourselves in such ways as we consider suited to our conditions. This country is so vast, the difference in climate, in physical characteristics, in capacity for production, in predominant industries, and in the resultant habits of living and thinking, are so great that there are necessarily wide differences of view as to the conduct of life, and to subject any section of the country in its local affairs to the dictation of the vast multitude of voters living in other parts of the country would create a condition of intolerable tyranny, and to use the power of the nation to bring about that condition would be to make the nation an instrument of tyranny. It is needless to argue that this would ultimately destroy the nation. It is the free adjustment of the separate parts of our country, the unchecked opportunity of each community to live in its own home according to its own opinions and wishes, that has made it possible for us all to unite in maintaining the power of the nation for all national purposes. If you destroy that free adjustment by enabling some parts of the country to coerce other parts of the country in their local affairs by the use of national power you will destroy the whole system and ultimately break up the Union. That is precisely what this amendment undertakes to do. South Dakota and West Virginia have just voted not to adopt woman suffrage. "Very well," say the suffragists. "The people of other States who differ from you in opinion will use the power of the national government to compel you to accept woman suffrage."

There is nothing more essentially and vitally local to a community than the way in which it shall select the officers who are to govern it. Any external power which can control that can control the local government. Nothing is more clear in the Con-

stitution under which our Union was formed than that this is a matter of purely local concern. The one exercise of national power over suffrage to prevent discrimination against the black race was made and justified only upon the same grounds which justified the war and the Emancipation Proclamation and for the time-being destroyed all local government in the seceding States. It establishes no precedent and justifies no attempt at control upon a less terrible and compelling cause. You will observe that I am not discussing the question of woman suffrage. Nor am I confining my remarks to the immediate effect of the proposed

amendment, as if that could be adopted without being followed by other action of a similar kind. If adopted it will inevitably be followed. If the principle of free self-government is abandoned today in order that some of us may impose our ideas as to the conduct of life upon others, it cannot be successfully asserted to-morrow when others seek to impose their ideas upon us. The consequences of abandoning a fundamental principle upon which our system of government has been built up cannot be limited at will.

Very sincerely yours,

ELIHU ROOT.

A MESSAGE FROM HIS EMINENCE JAMES, CARDINAL GIBBONS

Read by The Right Reverend William T. Russell, Bishop of Charleston, S. C.

THE paramount influence which woman exerts as queen of the domestic kingdom, where she reigns not by force but by persuasion, not by statute law but by the law of love engraven in her heart, forces me to believe that her condition would not be improved if she entered into the arena of politics.

Equal rights do not imply that both sexes should engage promiscuously in the same pursuits, but that each should discharge those duties which are adapted to its physical constitution. The insistence on a right of participation in active political life is undoubtedly calculated to rob woman of all that is amiable and gentle, tender and attractive; to rob her of her grace of character and give her nothing in return but masculine boldness and effrontery. Its advocates are habitually preaching about woman's rights and prerogatives, and have not a word to say about her duties and responsibilities. They withdraw her from those obligations which properly belong to her sex and fill her with ambition to usurp positions for which neither God nor nature ever intended her.

When I deprecate female suffrage I am pleading for the dignity of woman; I am contending for her honor; I am striving to perpetuate those peerless prerogatives inherent in her sex, those charms and graces which exalt womankind and make her the ornament and coveted companion of man. Woman is queen indeed, but her empire is the domestic kingdom. The greatest political triumphs she would achieve in public life fade into insignificance compared with the serene glory which radiates from the domestic shrine and which she illumines and warms by her conjugal and motherly virtues. If she is ambitious of the dual empire of public and private life, then like the fabled dog beholding his image in the water, she will lose both; she will fall from the lofty pedestal where nature and Christianity have placed her and will fail to grasp the scepter of political authority from the strong hand of her male competitor.

I still hold the same views on woman suffrage, already so often expressed, that the ballot would drag women from her domestic duties into the arena of politics, and rob her of much of her charm, goodness and true influence.

I regard "woman's rights" women and the leaders of the new school of female progress as the worst enemies of the female sex. I wish I could impress on American women the dangers that would attach to such innovations. I wish I could show them the ultimate result of participating in public life. It has but one end—the abandonment, or at least the neglect, of the home.

The most precious undeveloped asset of any nation is its children. An all-wise God through the law of nature has committed this precious treasure in a special manner to the mother. Any occupation, however alluring in its specious pretence, which draws woman's attention from her most exalted duties of motherhood, will result in detriment to the nation and the race. Women cannot vote intelligently unless they give time to an intelligent study of political questions, and all such time taken from the household will be injurious to the future generation, by robbing it of its natural right, a mother's care, without giving to the present generation any appreciable benefit in the purifying of the ballot. As far as I have observed, it appears that woman suffrage, to the extent that it has been granted in this country, has not changed the result of the election. There has been a larger vote, but the results have been the same as they would have been if women had not voted. Thus it seems that our political life has not been benefitted or purified by the entrance of woman into the political arena, though the domestic life of those who have engaged in this political work must have been neglected, or at least impaired.

I hope that your convention will be marked by wise counsel and deliberation, and reflect credit on your sex and the cause you advocate.

WHY I AM AN ANTI-SUFFRAGIST

By MRS. N. C. YOUNG

WHEN I have been asked to reply to the question, "Why am I an anti-suffragist?", it being so large a question and there being such a multitude of replies possible, I have always been tempted to use the simple but comprehensive answer, "Simply because I am a woman."

And so, omitting the fundamental and basic reasons which have made all of us anti-suffragists, I am going to give my experiences, the experiences that have made me strongly and forever an anti-suffragist.

I went to Dakota when it was still a Territory, and came into the Union with the State of North Dakota. At that time our constitution embodied the laws giving full educational franchises to women. We were young then. We had great faith and we

had great ambition, and we believed this was a very beneficial and hopeful thing for our State in the future. We expected to build largely, we women, on this, and make something wonderful and very superior of our school system. We watched the results. The first election the women made quite an effort to get out, and there were several of us there. But it soon began to fall away. I have not time now for the full figures, but those I am giving are significant. We came into the Union in 1899. In 1900 we had a State election, when there were two candidates for State superintendent, one of them a woman. Sixteen per cent. as many women as men voted—not 16 per cent. of all, but 16 per cent. as many women as men. In 1903, where there were three candidates for State superintendent, 9 per cent. as many women as men voted. In 1908, with three candidates again in the field, 2

per cent. as many women as men voted. In 1906, 1910 and 1912 the woman vote was negligible.

When the votes-for-women campaign was upon us this was the argument we used. I used these figures, and more of them, to show that the women of North Dakota did not want and would not use the poll. These figures went through the State papers and were used whenever we spoke on the subject. The June primary came fortunately after we were organized, and with these figures we gathered some others during the heat of the campaign. There were two candidates for county and State superintendent. In my own county, Cass County, just thirty-one women went to the polls and voted, and in the city of Fargo, which is in that county, just twenty. With such figures as these and others from other counties we went before the people.

After the election we gathered figures from almost every county in the State, wherever the auditors would be courteous enough to give them, and these still further convinced us that the women of North Dakota did not want and would not use the ballot. In the recent election, the same election where we voted on woman suffrage, there were four counties where not a single woman voted. In Cass County, including Fargo, the home of the Votes for Women League, 4,708 men voted; only 196 women. In Stutsman County, including Jamestown, from which the W. C. T. U. waged a prolonged campaign for suffrage, 2,478 men voted; only 55 women. In Bowman County 992 men voted on the question, 596 for and 396 against; the majority for suffrage was 200. And not a single woman in that county voted.

I was interested to bring the latest returns as to how we were using the educational ballot. The figures in Fargo for November were interesting because there were two candidates for State superintendent—one a Fargo man, superintendent of our schools, and there had been a fierce battle waged around him, almost everybody being lined up on one side or the other. At that election 1,903 men voted for county superintendent in four precincts, and not one woman, and in the entire city, all precincts, 2,840 men and 119 women.

That is one reason why I am still an anti-suffragist.

There is another reason. Representing the northwest as I do here in this little talk, and living in North Dakota, an agricultural State, I realize that it would be manifestly unfair to our farming community if we had woman suffrage. Our farmers make up 75 per cent. of the population. It would be very much more difficult for the women of the farms to get out to vote than for the women in the cities, and it would give the balance of power to the cities. Remember, too, the elections come in the cold weather; it is often bitterly cold in November in the northwest, and very few women can leave home, leave the farm and the children at that time to cast a ballot. And it is unfair to give the vote to the women in the cities when the women in the country could not use it.

Voice from the Floor: "Why not change the date?"

Mrs. Young (continuing): "Well, it is rather a universal date, isn't it?" (*Laughter.*)

Just one word more. I believe, as women, we must be loyal to womanhood, and I believe that to decry the work and mission of women is unloyal and unpatriotic. We must extol the mission and the work of woman as women, and that is another reason why I am an anti-suffragist.

By MRS. ROBERT GARRETT

I AM here in the interest of anti-suffrage because it is very near to my heart. It is very near to my heart because I feel that the interests of women and children, and men, are safer under man suffrage than under double suffrage.

I think so because in the last two years things have come to my knowledge that have shown me that the suffragists are more interested in the ballot than they are in the working woman. There was a woman about my age in Baltimore, making her living as a secretary for one of our reform associations. She was an anti-suffragist. She had been working with this reform asso-

ciation for some time, and thought that a rise in her salary was due to her. She took the matter up before the head of the association, who was a suffragist, and he said: "We will raise your salary from \$75 to \$100 if you are willing to change your views on suffrage, otherwise not only can I not recommend you for a rise, but I cannot recommend that you be maintained in your position." I spoke to this man about it myself, and he said, "You put it very boldly." "Do I not put it truthfully?" I asked, and he had nothing whatever to say. Somewhat the same thing occurred with another friend of mine who wanted a position in one of our State boards, at the head of which was a woman. She said to my friend: "You are the woman I want, and who has the qualifications for the position; you are ideal for the position except on the matter of suffrage; if you can change your opinion on suffrage you can have the job." I say that suffragists are more interested in the ballot than in the working woman, and that is the reason I am an anti-suffragist; because I think the time has come when we must look on the national situation not from the point of view of a group of women, but as to the relation of woman to the nation, her obligations to the family, for the center of the nation is still the family, and must be till the nation falls. And this idea, embracing the economic emancipation of woman, a direct step toward radicalism, is, I think, the greatest menace we have to face in this country. And until this can be brought before the heart of every man and every woman, we are going to have to fight it very hard, in some ways with more discouragement than it is reasonable to feel, because we know, and it has been proved again and again, by your recent elections, and by the situation in the States, that the universal sentiment—I say universal advisedly—is against woman suffrage.

We have got to work. We have to have the help of every man and every woman who is a red-blooded American and who will fight this battle with us.

By MRS. H. C. TALBOTT

WHEN any great governmental change is proposed there rests upon its proponents the grave responsibility of proof. It devolves upon them to show the reason for the faith that is in them, and to bring sufficient evidence to prove their right to demand such a change. Any great national movement involving the activities of twenty-four million women is not to be lightly considered, or launched for the gratification of a very boisterous minority.

The State of Ohio has inaugurated a system of registration which cannot fail to be of great interest to every State organization having representatives at this National Convention. We have been continuously troubled and harassed by statements made by suffragists to the effect that the women of the State of Ohio demanded the vote. We not only resented their claiming to be the women of Ohio, but we could not believe they represented more than a small minority, but of this fact we had no actual proof. We therefore decided upon a system of registration, securing the signatures of women over twenty-one years of age, upon cards which bore the caption, "I do not believe in woman suffrage."

We have now in our possession 121,706 names upon file in our offices. In securing these names we also kept an actual tally of those in favor of suffrage, numbering 12,147 in favor of suffrage and 1,571 indifferent. In a factory employing 385 women our men asked for a poll and found not one suffragist. Of 500 women interviewed in our retail stores there were but twenty-two in favor of woman suffrage.

These figures can be verified. They produced a profound impression in our own city, and it is felt, as far as our men seem to be concerned, that the question is settled in Ohio. If we have a majority of ten to one against woman suffrage that would seem to follow. I wanted to find out whether it was true or not that we had a majority, or whether it was true that the suffragists were in the majority. What we want in this world is the truth, and it is only upon the truth that we dare base our actions; but

when I find that there is one woman wanting to involve ten women in political responsibilities which the nine do not feel they are called upon to bear, and which they believe would be detrimental to the women and children and the State, then it is time for the fight, and a good hard one, and we bespeak the co-operation of every man in this country to protect our homes. And we say it is an outrage that women as busy as the anti-suffrage women are should be forced to come out and work like slaves to protest against something they never should have had put up to them in the first place.

The anti-suffragists are busy women in the main, and they have found it difficult to adjust themselves to the necessity of active, aggressive work in opposition in this thing. When there is an attempt to thrust women into political life, at the sacrifice of their ideals, and the sacrifice of the youth of this country, and the welfare of the little children, there is a greater danger confronting us than the menace of any war, and it is high time the women of this land buckle on their armor and fight.

By MRS. JAMES B. WELLS

BEFORE stating my reasons for opposing woman suffrage, I will say a few words in emphasis of States' Rights. I come here representing Texas only, yet, in referring to States' Rights I feel sure that in speaking for Texas, I will echo the sentiment of the entire South where the doctrine of States' Rights is a cult—the vital spark of our political entity—and where reverence for the Constitution is the basis of our patriotism.

I believe, too, that not only in the South, but in every State of the Union, the Constitution of the United States is held holy, as the very Ark of Covenant of our national life—it must not be touched profanely lest death come to the nation.

Concerning woman suffrage, I am opposed to it on principle not only because I hold its demand unwise, unnecessary, inexpedient and not founded on justice, but for many other reasons satisfactory to me.

My practical opposition to woman suffrage is based on the peril which in my opinion it offers to the highest ideal of womanhood, to the sanctity of marriage, and to the welfare of the race.

In maintaining that the individual and not the family is the social unit rests the entire fabric of the suffragist contention. This argument is the sole prop of woman suffrage; it is also one of the cardinal tenets of socialism and is avowedly aimed at the destruction of the home, corroborating the socialist Daniel de Leon's definition, "Woman suffrage is but an integral splinter in the torch that lights the way to social revolution." Well-known apostles of feminism are also leading suffragists. Were woman suffrage the holy and righteous thing it professes to be it would not be allied with publications like *The Masses*, nor accept succor from campaigners who speak all manner of abomination, seeking to degrade and blot the beauty of all that is sacred in the marriage tie and the holy privilege of maternity.

Cardinal Gibbons says of woman suffrage: "Its advocates are habitually preaching about woman's rights and privileges, and they have not a word to say about her duties and obligations. They withdraw her from those obligations which properly belong to her sex, and fill her with ambition to usurp positions for which neither God nor nature intended her."

I know that many fine women in their eager zeal to obtain the ballot overlook the quality of their leaders and the character of their campaign. "A pity 'tis 'tis so."

Wily suffragist journalists use the neutralizing medium of family portraits. Magazine and newspaper illustrations of suffragist mothers surrounded by their children and so on. An entire art museum devoted solely to this personal phase cannot offset the utterances of the feminist-suffragists and the suffragist party stands for them until it repudiates their methods and refuses their aid.

Dora Marsden in the "Bond Woman"—bond woman meaning wife—is but one of many who speak and write thus and much worse of marriage.

But the great crime is their attempt to degrade and cheapen maternity. Can it be possible a woman who talks, writes and thinks in this way has ever been put to the test of knowing that her conduct is the gauge of her children's idea of virtue? Or known a mother's joy in owning a dear little one dependent on her only, enjoying its unquestioning love and trust, shared its games and dear laughter, and above all other privileges known that a little child lives for her approval? All this and much more is a part of the joy of motherhood—a rich reward for the sacrifice that the New Woman rejects and shirks while trying to lead others her way.

The world has long known that not motherhood only, but all success depends on sacrifice, and for every achievement we must pay the price. The restless discontent that torments votaries of the ballot box will never avail them for there is no political short cut to the millennium.

I believe that the anti-suffragists of this country are the conservationists of the American home, in which all true progress must be fostered. Nor slander, ridicule nor the expenditure of millions can shake our purpose, for in point of numbers we are the women of America.

By MRS. J. D. GILFILLAN

THE question, "Why are you opposed to votes for women?" five years ago received answers covering a wide range of feeling. To-day, whatever qualifications the reply may have, it bears always this trademark of a common opinion: "Our opposition is based on the effect of suffrage upon woman herself, as already demonstrated." The rabid radicalism it evolves in some women, and the increased indifference it brings to others, makes the movement a dangerous influence to our form of government.

The opposition of many women to the extension of franchise lies deeper than whether voters are male or female. It has its basis in the effect of votes on the development of our country—sweeping on in its orbit—the melting pot Republic of the world. They are opposed to the extension of our franchise from love of the land where their fathers died; they believe in maintaining the institution of the country—working for public welfare and safety, and if a name be needed, they are Anti-suffragist from Patriotism.

Has this position any logic in necessity? We believe so.

The whole attitude of the suffrage movement has changed in the past ten years. Old influences have passed away and all things have become new. The women who framed the Bill of Rights believed the ballot was the only medium of its attainment—but all these demands have been granted without woman's vote, except the demand for that vote. Then we were told the schools and their allied interests, the library boards, and the park systems need woman's vote. The ballot was granted that these non-political influences over youth might be helped by woman's opinion. You all know how little interest women have taken in this opportunity.

The neglect of a franchise privilege, where it could so affect the vast expenditures of money for the benefit of children, led the opposition to say the case is not being truly presented; the movement is for political power—not humanitarian influence. We were told our limited vision and exclusiveness made it impossible for us to understand the importance of the woman vote to the general uplift, particularly in relation to the temperance movement. The Will and Wont pledge, sent broadcast by suffrage workers, promising to do nothing and give nothing to any cause until women had the franchise, brought understanding to all philanthropic workers. Then manhood suffrage and woman suffrage States began voting on a Prohibition amendment. If men and women in Colorado had voted for Prohibition in the same ratio as the men in Virginia did, Colorado would have quadrupled her majority. If the men and women in Washington had voted for Prohibition at as high a ratio as the men in West Virginia did, the majority would have been seven times as great.

If the humanitarian work we all cherish can be advanced by government, without women in the electorate, what would their task be? Again the opposition answers: "Political—purely political."

Humanitarian advancement is possible without woman's vote as a factor. Prohibition does not need a change in the electorate to become a fact.

Hence, "Votes for women" is to-day a political slogan, without any great ideal of uplift behind it.

When, this year, after four political parties had declared in their platforms for woman's franchise, and suffrage organizations felt strong enough to announce their movement political, "first, last and all the time," the opposition found its flag day. No more explaining—we were each out now in our true colors. Woman in politics for politics, or woman out of politics for patriotism. Woman striving for power, or woman—non-political—non-partisan—using her influence for the best in every party and every cause.

We knew the 1916 campaign would tell whether we had read the writing on the wall correctly. The ninety-one electoral votes were not delivered. The solidarity of voting women was proved a fallacy; again it was shown there was no division of sex interest in this country—while Iowa and West Virginia were added to the eleven States rejecting a suffrage amendment from November, 1912, to November, 1916—making sixteen times it has been defeated in four years.

Universal suffrage is now a demand, expressing no necessity. What it has declared as its aim may be accomplished without the

expense or the danger of reconstructing our electorate—already over-sensitive because it has no homogeneity.

And so we have, casually—as we could, minutely—followed the revolution of the suffrage propaganda from a profound humanitarian movement to a political demand, without any necessity in fact—except those of the office seeker.

What will women do with politics and what may politics do for women? The answer to both questions is found in the 1916 campaign.

I am anti-suffragist because of my love of my own land, "where the air is filled with sunshine and the flag is filled with stars." I cherish its institutions and its precedents. I trust its destiny, and do not wish its problems, either at home or abroad, complicated by an unnecessary change in our electorate.

We believe, with Mr. Root, "the American Republic is not merely to be talked about, but to be maintained and safe-guarded by a virile and patriotic people."

We wish to do our part in this work, whether it be temperamentally repulsive, or in grooves where we feel at home and work is joy. We are here to strengthen one another, and to proclaim that the great body of contented, quiet, home-loving American women do not desire political privileges, nor the franchise that expresses them.

We stand ready for every patriotic service which does not by nature and training belong to man. Except when such service calls, we ask to be protected in the privilege of working out for our homes, our community and ourselves, the "divine creed of our duties."

THE COLLEGE ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE

AS Organizing Chairman of the College Anti-Suffrage League of Massachusetts Women, my message is to mothers first. Before your daughters, at a plastic age, go to boarding-school or college, see to it that they have been well influenced by our sane ideals! And my message to State Associations is, get hearings for us in your women's colleges! Our Massachusetts League is in its infancy, and we hope to make a complete canvass of all Massachusetts college women. This should be done in every State, through the alumnae lists of the different women's colleges. We have sent letters, or reply postcards, to some fifteen hundred women since last June. Our League has a strong advisory board made up of alumnae, two or three from every college. Through this board we are trying to secure hearings at the colleges before the undergraduates and to form anti-suffrage leagues in the colleges. The college girl, not particularly interested in the suffrage question, and full of other interests, has heard for years only suffrage arguments through suffrage speakers at her college and through social intercourse with her teachers. This surely does not seem like a broad education. Only Radcliffe and Wellesley have anti-suffrage organizations. Vassar and Bryn Mawr have most active suffrage leagues, and so have Wellesley, Mt. Holyoke,

Barnard and Jackson, and Pembroke is organizing such a league.

We know that "where we work we win," and is there a better field for our efforts than among college undergraduates, even though it may be uphill work?

We sent a letter to the students' governing board of every woman's college which has alumnae members in our league, to ask what political leagues, civics clubs, or students' debating clubs are organized, and what restrictions on such organizations are placed by the faculty of the respective college. From the answers we have learned before what organizations we may try to obtain hearings. So far, since November 1st, we have had anti-suffrage meetings in Massachusetts at Wellesley, since organized, at Radcliffe and Jackson, where we held our first College League meeting. In January a date has been given us at Mt. Holyoke. Our State Presidents should gather groups of students at their homes and tell them that, in all fair-mindedness, where one side is heard the other should be.

We have delayed too long in reaching the college girl!

(Signed) MRS. THOMAS ALLEN,

Chairman, Anti-Suffrage League of Massachusetts Women.

VOTING DELEGATES

THE voting delegates at the convention were as follows: Alabama, Mrs. Benjamin Craig, Mrs. C. J. Pegues; Connecticut, Mrs. Daniel A. Markham, Mrs. Lynde Harrison, Mrs. Ansel Cooke; Delaware, Mrs. Henry B. Thompson, Mrs. Willard Saulsbury, Mrs. Henry P. Scott; District of Columbia, Mrs. C. H. Davis, Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., Mrs. G. B. Puller; Georgia, Miss Caroline Patterson, Mrs. Bernard Goslin; Iowa, Mrs. Frank Millard, Mrs. Russell Perkins, Miss Chittenden; Maine, Miss Anne A. H. Boyd; Maryland,

Mrs. Robert Garrett, Mrs. M. B. Wild, Mrs. Herbert Tiffany; Massachusetts, Mrs. John Balch, Mrs. A. H. Parker, Mrs. B. L. Robinson; Oregon, Mrs. Robert Wilson Lewis; Minnesota, Mrs. J. B. Gilfillan, Mrs. Edmund Pennington, Mrs. H. L. Clark; Nebraska, Mrs. William Archibald Smith, Mrs. Harry Newbranch; New Hampshire, Mrs. A. T. Dudley, Mrs. George Moses; New Jersey, Mrs. E. Yarde Breese; New York, Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, Mrs. John F. Maynard, Mrs. Frank Fiske; North Dakota, Mrs. N. C. Young, Mrs. J. G. Gun-

derson; Ohio, Mrs. H. C. Talbott, Mrs. Lawrence Maxwell, Jr.; Pennsylvania, Mrs. Horace Brock, Mrs. Charles W. Henry, Miss Julia Harding; Rhode Island, Mrs. Rowland G. Hazard, Miss Hoppin, Mrs. Charles Warren Lippitt; South Dakota, Mrs. E. Jacobsen; Texas, Mrs. James B. Wells; Vermont, Mrs. Clarence Morgan, Mrs. A. B. Buell; Virginia, Mrs. Francis Williams, Miss M. Maury Robinson; West Virginia, Mrs. D. C. Gallaher, Miss Wilson; Wisconsin, Mrs. Charles E. Estabrook, Mrs. Francis E. Day.

NOTES ON THE YEAR'S WORK

AS the reports of the twenty-five State presidents at the convention cannot be reprinted in the WOMAN'S PROTEST because of lack of space, they will be issued in the form of a separate booklet of the size of the PROTEST to be filed with it.

In this number we can give but a general summary of the most important features of the various reports.

As probably the only suffrage campaign State next year, New York will be the pivotal State and the cynosure of the nation's eyes. The New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage is making its preparations to meet what will undoubtedly be the heaviest suffrage onslaught ever concentrated in any one State. The opening function, a Housewarming and Christmas Sale at the new headquarters, 280 Madison Avenue, brought a "crush" of anti-suffragists together, even though the new headquarters are much larger than the old. The Housewarming followed the annual meeting, at which all officers were re-elected.

Miss Chittenden, in accepting her fifth election as president, said in part:

"Our annual meeting this year should be regarded by all anti-suffragists as a day of real Thanksgiving, and with this spirit of thankfulness there should also be coupled one of triumph. Seven victories in thirteen months and not one defeat in that period should be emblazoned on our banners where 'he who runs may read.' Let no anti-suffragist ever be discouraged in the future. The sixteen good sound defeats of woman suffrage amendments by popular vote during the past four years is an answer to that tiresome but specious plea, 'woman suffrage is coming,' and these defeats justify our claim that 'where we work we win,' or, in other words, that where we can carry on a campaign of education and reach the voters with our arguments woman suffrage suffers defeat.

"The fact that States having an aggregate population of 41,685,510, or nearly half the population of the entire country, have defeated woman suffrage measures in five years, shows that 'the people's verdict' is against the proposition. It is not surprising to us that the suffragists are discouraged and are now turning to the Federal amendment as a final means of forcing woman suffrage on the States which have turned it down by such decisive majorities. They are resorting to the undemocratic method of overturning the people's verdict and disfranchising the voters by taking the discussion of this question out of their hands and placing it in the hands of the State legislatures, which can more readily be controlled by a strong suffrage lobby.

"Here in New York we must, therefore, make a dual campaign during the coming year, working against the Federal amendment as well as working to defeat woman suffrage again at the polls in November, 1917, by a majority much larger than the 194,000 majority given against it last year. We can do this by a long pull, a strong pull and a pull altogether.

"Remember that anti-suffrage is the appeal of women doing woman's work and doing it cheerfully and to the extent of their strength not to be thrust into politics merely

to defend themselves politically against other women. It is the woman's movement in the cause of woman."

Notable achievements of the New York State Association in the last year were the formation of a Junior League composed of debutantes and young married women, who have held several successful shows and dances for preparedness work; the organization of a "Public Interest League" to awaken non-partisan interest in affairs of immediate concern to patriotic American citizenship; and the organization of a State Council and a Congressional Committee.

The Public Interest League has held many interesting meetings and several notable banquets at which eminent men and women gave their views on pressing social problems. At some of these dinners nearly 400 were present.

It is stated that the men of the New York Legislature voted for the re-submission of suffrage in order to get rid of it; that since their experience with the suffrage lobby at Albany last winter, the men are more than ever eager to have another chance to vote on the question at the polls in order to give a much larger majority against it next time.

One of the most interesting developments of the anti-suffrage movement is manifesting itself at present in Illinois. In spite of the fact that women in that State cast 800,000 votes for presidential candidates at the last election—without, however, changing the result, or equalling the men in the exercise of the franchise—the suffragists are convinced that the "cause" cannot be referred to the voters of Illinois without risking repudiation and having all the world know it is a failure in the opinion of the people of that State. It will be remembered that partial suffrage was obtained after the voters of Chicago defeated woman suffrage by 235,000 majority at the primaries in April, 1912. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt has written to the Illinois suffragists advising them not to push the campaign for a full suffrage referendum. This is a clear confession that woman suffrage has not "made good" with the people of Illinois, and that the "cause" is afraid to trust itself to an electorate most intimately familiar with "how it works."

The Alabama Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage claims that 99 percent of the white women of that State are anti-suffragists. In one town of two thousand white women, only about two hundred are enrolled suffragists after years of organization. Within the last year, the "antis" have enrolled over twelve hundred women in this town.

Connecticut now has thirty-five organized branches and an enrollment of 19,000 members. At the recent woman suffrage convention in New Haven, November 17th, Isadore Polsky, introduced as from the Socialist Party, "declared that no one could be a socialist and a disbeliever in suffrage. He said that the Democrats and the Republicans indorse suffrage because it is coming in spite of them, but the socialists indorse it because its fundamentals are socialistic. In conclusion, he said, 'If you do what is right for your cause, you will support the socialist movement,' " as quoted in the Hartford Times.

In Delaware—the only State which can extend suffrage to women without referendum to the voters—the candidates for Congress were found to be opposed to the suffrage amendments, whether State or national. The suffrage amendment will come up again before the Delaware legislature this winter. It was defeated by 6 to 11 in the Senate and by 8 to 23 in the House in 1915.

The District of Columbia Association has been very active in the gathering of data and the circulation of literature in campaign States, and rightfully claims a large share of the credit therefor for recent anti-suffrage victories. The District Association also keeps close watch on national legislation.

The Georgia Association has been very successful. Some of the most prominent jurists and leading churchmen of the State have indorsed the organization. One of four judges who addressed a letter to the Legislature against woman suffrage wrote that the association deserved the thanks of the whole State for its work. The W. C. T. U. of Georgia has defeated woman suffrage resolutions every time they were offered in the last twenty-five years. The Federation of Clubs has also rejected the "cause" overwhelmingly.

The Iowa Association is at present interested in an effort on the part of suffragists to have the election last June declared void. It is alleged that in certain districts more votes were cast than there were registered voters. As the semi-official returns gave the "antis" a majority of only 4,655, which was increased to 10,341 when the official returns came in, and the official count showed a reduction of the suffrage vote and an addition of the anti-suffrage vote in most of the counties, it would appear that the allegation, if true, would reflect more on the pro-suffrage voters than those who voted against suffrage.

NOTES ON THE YEAR'S WORK—Continued

The men in Maine are becoming more aroused than ever to open opposition to woman suffrage. Though a suffrage amendment may be introduced at the next session of the Legislature, it is unlikely to pass that body. If it does pass the Legislature it will be defeated overwhelmingly at the polls.

The last annual meeting of the Maryland Association was more largely attended than any since the organization four years ago. Mrs. Robert Garrett was re-elected president. The suffragists, divided into four organizations, have made no headway in Maryland. During the coming year the association will greatly extend its work at county fairs and organize a committee in every county in the State.

Massachusetts has begun the organization of the State by Congressional districts, and as a result has gained several votes in Congress against the Federal amendment. The Red Cross work and the College Anti-Suffrage League of the Massachusetts Association are noted elsewhere. A notable contribution to the anti-suffrage movement was the raising of money by the Massachusetts Association to meet the preliminary expenses of organizing a Men's National Association to assume political activities impossible for women to bear.

When the troops went to the Mexican border, the Commonwealth was without machinery for the care of the dependent families of soldiers. The Anti-Suffrage Association was the first to offer aid, and at the request of Adj.-General Cole opened headquarters in Commonwealth armory, and investigated and cared for every case received until the Governor's newly appointed committee could get to work. Not only material aid, but the equally needed companionship was extended promptly and efficiently.

The Minnesota Association in the last year has circulated over 525,000 pieces of anti-suffrage literature. Mrs. Edmund Pennington, president of the Minneapolis Association, was chairman of the Minneapolis Branch of the Women's Section for National Preparedness. Mrs. Pennington has been instrumental in raising money for a Y. M. C. A. building at Llano Grande, which is named for her.

Nebraska has subscribed for "Protests" for libraries throughout the State. The women of Nebraska do not want to vote. At a recent election in Omaha, where there are 40,000 women of voting age, only 2,248 voted at a school election on a ticket indorsed by suffragists.

A "Safety First" league has been formed by members of the Nebraska Association to distribute safety first cards and buttons to the school children of Omaha.

New Jersey has had several successful balls and entertainments for the National Association, the campaign States, and for the suffering peoples abroad. Since the overwhelming defeat of suffrage in 1915, the suffragists have not succeeded in getting any bill through the Legislature nor the subject even mentioned in the party platforms of the State.

The Pennsylvania Association, while keeping up its work at county fairs and State organization, has contributed largely to the campaign States during the last year. Its best workers and speakers were sent to Iowa and West Virginia, and it contributed several thousand dollars to the work against suffrage in these States.

The Virginia Association expects an enrollment of over 10,000 members before the first of January. An analysis of the vote cast on woman suffrage by the Legislature shows that the suffragists have lost ten votes in that body in the last two years.

The West Virginia majority against woman suffrage will probably exceed 100,000. With thirteen counties missing in the official count, the majority is 83,052, the vote for suffrage 42,263, and the vote against 125,315. The anti-suffrage majority will undoubtedly exceed even the prohibition majority of 1914, and will probably mark the most tremendous proportionate vote ever cast against any proposed amendment. The same districts which gave the largest "dry" vote piled up the greatest majorities against suffrage.

A conservative estimate of the women over twenty-one enrolled in the twenty-five associations opposed to woman suffrage places the number at 350,000. This represents actual enrollments of women over twenty-one years of age. If a comparison of enrollments is needed, the student of this question should study the fact that the Ohio Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage has enrolled nearly 100,000 women over twenty-one in the last ten months, while the Woman Suffrage Party of New York State enrolled—according to its own official organ—only 60,000 members, men and women, from January to October, in the heat of the campaign, although it claims to have personally canvassed 60 per cent. of the voters of New York City! (See *Woman Voter*, page 19, February, 1916.)

Owing to lack of space, and the fact that official election figures for all the States are not yet available, the statistical analysis of the election has been held for the January number.

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, in a recent address in Brooklyn, added a few new paragraphs to her year old platitudes about America's not being a republic, etc., etc., and not qualified to condemn the injustice of other nations because of its injustice to women. Dr. Shaw remarked:

"The Mayor has said that with citizenship goes the obligation to serve in the army. If that is true, where is woman suffrage coming in?"

It isn't coming in, it is going out. But Dr. Shaw added:

"I think he meant to imply the duty of defending the country depended upon men. Everybody knows that that is only half the duty of defending the country. Today in Europe the women are doing just as much as the men. The women's share is as important a share as is done by the men. The Woman Suffrage Party does not stand for Preparedness, nor is it a Pacifist Society," etc.

Dr. Shaw is right in this contention. One of her favorite slogans is: "all we ask is that men believe the things they say." If Dr. Shaw believes that woman has a different—but just as important—part to play in the defense of her country as man—why does she ask that woman play the same part as man in government? Politics is "only half the duty of defending the country." The suffragist cannot have it both ways. If woman's work in war is as important as man's place on the firing line, so is woman's work in peace as important as man's place at the ballot box. You cannot contend that woman is doing different work equally as well as man without admitting that this different work deserves the distinction of a different medium of expression. The Red Cross nurse serves her country as well as the soldier—but differently. He stands and strikes, she soothes and heals. The ballot is as inadequate and as prejudicial to the best work of woman as a bayonet would be to the Red Cross nurse. Woman cannot claim the bayonet in war or the ballot in peace without sacrificing her status and her privileges as a non-combatant. If suffragists could only "believe the things they say" apply to the question of woman suffrage!

What doth it profit a woman to gain the vote and suffer the loss of her non-partisan power?

The great and insuperable objection to the extension of the suffrage to women is fundamental and functional.

It rests upon the difference that nature has established between men and women.

JUSTICE FRANCIS M. SCOTT,
Constitutional Convention, 1894.

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